DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 423 590 EA 029 259

AUTHOR Coleman, Jo Evans
TITLE Barriers to Career Mobility/Advancement by African-American and Caucasian Female Administrators in Minnesota Organizations: A Perception or Reality?
PUB DATE 1998-04-00
NOTE 44p.; Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Educational Research Association (San Diego, CA, April 13-17, 1998).
PUB TYPE Reports - Research (143) -- Speeches/Meeting Papers (150)
EDRS PRICE MF01/PC02 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS *Blacks; *Educational Administration; Elementary Secondary Education; Equal Opportunities (Jobs); Government (Administrative Body); Higher Education; Industry; *Promotion (Occupational); Racial Discrimination; Sex Discrimination; Sex Stereotypes; Socialization; *Whites; *Women Administrators
IDENTIFIERS *African Americans; *Glass Ceiling; Minnesota

ABSTRACT

The primary purpose of this research was to identify perceived barriers affecting African-American and Caucasian female administrators' career mobility/advancement in education, business/industry, and government in Minnesota. The study explored women's perceptions of the effects that race/gender discrimination and gender underrepresentation have had in administrative positions, highlighting individual, group, and organizational barriers to advancement. A selected sample of 49 female administrators (10 African-Americans and 39 Caucasians) responded to two questionnaires: Survey of Minnesota Employees and Administrator's Barrier-Strategy Inventory. The most frequently identified barriers for African-American respondents were racial discrimination (88 percent), no opportunity for upward mobility (75 percent), exclusion from the old boys' network (71 percent), and negative attitude toward women in administration (71 percent). Caucasian respondents listed exclusion from the old boys' network (79 percent), employers' negative attitude toward women (55 percent), lack of professional networking (52 percent), and negative attitude toward women in administration (48 percent). Female administrators agreed in all barrier subscales, except for type of discrimination and support barriers. The glass ceiling is very real for both groups. Included are several tables. (Contains 45 references.) (MLH)

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Barriers to Career Mobility/Advancement by African-American and Caucasian Female Administrators in Minnesota Organizations: A Perception or Reality?

This paper was prepared by
Jo Evans Coleman, Ed.D, Ph.D
Chief Executive Officer
Educational Strategies, Inc.
13329 87th Place North
Maple Grove, MN 5536
612-420-4657
colem014@maroon.tc.umn.edu

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INTRODUCTION

This study focuses on identifying the percieved internal and external barriers that prohibit career mobility and/or advancement of African-American and Caucasian female administrators in various organizational settings. The study explores 1) *individual*, 2) *group*, and 3) *orginazitional barriers* and their perceived effect on African-American and Caucasian female administrators within organizations.

Bonso and Shakeshaft (1983) reviewed studies completed during the 1970s which centered on factors contributing to the underrepresentation of females in educational administration. These studies pointed to conceptualized factors such as low self-image, lack of confidence, lack of aspiration/motivation, lack of support, competing responsibilities, lack of money for training, lack of preparation and experience, too few role models and sponsors, and lack of networks as having important roles in influencing such underrepresentation.

Gender discrimination was found to be the main hurdle to overcome in studies by Edson (1981a) and Paddock (1981) involving practicing and aspiring administrators. According to Miklos (1988), studies of gender confirmed that women encountered a variety of barriers (different from those faced by men) that impede their access to administrative positions.

Purpose

The primary purpose of this research was to identify the perceived barriers that affect career mobility/advancement of African-American and Caucasian female administrators in education , business/industry and government in the state of Minnesota. It explored women's perceptions of the effects that race/gender discrimination and gender underrepresentation have in administrative positions. This study focused on identifying the perceived internal and external barriers that prohibit career mobility and/or advancement of African-American and Caucasian female administrators in various organizational settings. The study explored 1) *individual*, 2) *group*, and 3) *organizational barriers* and their perceived effect on African-American Caucasian female administrators within organizations

Definition of Terms

Administrative Position: A work assignment which includes planning, organizing, leading evaluating, and supervising the duties of other personnel in an educational system.

Business: A commercial or industrial establishment.

Career Patterns: The sequence of career positions held prior to securing the present position.

Discrimination: Demonstration of partiality or prejudice in treatment.

Education: The process of training and developing the knowledge, skill, mind, character, etc., by means of formal schooling at an institution of learning.

Equity: A depiction of fairness and impartiality.

For Profit: Financial or monetary gain in a transaction.

Gender: Membership in the same sex group.

Glass Ceiling: Artificial barriers based on attitudinal or organizational bias that prevent qualified individuals from advancing upward in organizations into management level positions.

Government: Agencies that administer or control the affairs of a state or institution.

Industry: A particular branch of productive; manufacturing enterprise.

Non-Profit: Not intending or intended to earn a profit.

Principal: An administrator whose main responsibilities do not include teaching, but who provides leadership in instruction, school governance, and student development.

Public Education: An instructional program provided by the state education system and local school boards.

Racial: Identification by membership in the same sex group.

Socialization: The process of taking part or interacting in the common needs of a cooperative group.

Training: Instruction to make one proficient in a skill or qualified to complete certain tasks.

Participants/Instrumentation

This study included a selected sample of forty nine (49) female administrators (10 African-Americans and 49 Caucasians). The profile of the female administrator respondents, Table 12 shows that 37% were between the ages of 41 and 50. Thirty percent (30%) were over 50. The majority (53%) were married with 70% of them having children. Thirty-seven percent (37%) had two children with 44% of the children in the age range of 6-18 years. All had used some form of day-care arrangements for their children with 65% using daycare centers; 96% of them were satisfied with the arrangements. The bachelor's degree was the highest degree earned by the plurality (49%) while 38% had earned a master's degree. The number of administrative positions applied for, have had, was zero at 45% and 28% respectively. The most prevalent means of promotion was within the system, at 80%, and the respondents applied for their current positions at a 65% rate. The majority (61%) had female immediate supervisors and 56% felt that their career mobility/advancement had been somewhat blocked.

These administrators had an average of fourteen (14) years of direct or on line experience, with 11.5 years in administrative roles, were an average age of 33 when appointed to their first administration position, supervised a staff of 34 individuals on the average and spent an average of 75% of their time performing administrative duties.

Each of the participants were asked to respond to two (2) questionnaires: 1) Survey of Minnesota Employers and Employees: Today's Workplace, Tomorrow's Workforce (*Workforce Survey*) and 2) The Administrator's Barrier-Strategy Inventory (*Barrier Survey*). The *Workforce Survey* was used primarily to obtain demographic data regarding the female participants and the institutions where they were currently employed as administrators. The *Barrier Survey* was used to identify the perceived barriers to career mobility and advancement for these female administrators.

The above mentioned instruments were used to collect data for this study: 1) a survey fashioned after the State of Minnesota's 1995 Glass Ceiling Report; *Survey Of Minnesota Employers: Today's Workplace, Tomorrow's Workforce,* (Minnesota Planning, Minnesota Department of Economic Security, 1995, (hereafter referred to as *Workforce Survey*) for collecting information on how organizations in Minnesota fill management decision-making positions and the practices used to foster the necessary qualifications for advancement, and 2) Beason's (1992) *Administrator Barrier-Strategy Inventory,* (hereafter referred to as *Barrier Survey*) revised to reflect the identification of barriers-constraints and the strategies for overcoming these barriers.

The *Workforce Survey* (Minnesota Planning, 1995) information was reported by Human Resources/Personnel Directors of the responding organizations and female administrator respondents. It consists of nineteen (19) questions, including seven (7) identification questions, one (1) rating question, four (4) "all that apply" choice questions, six (6) "yes/no" questions and one (1) open-ended question. The *Barrier Survey* (Beason, 1992) information was reported by female administrator participants and is a survey instrument requiring sixty (60) responses. The instrument is divided into three (3) segments, Part I is Biographical Data, Part II is Educational and

Professional Background and Part III is and Career Mobility/Advancement Strategies. The Biographical Data segment consists of seven (7) questions, with questions 1, 2, and 5 being identification questions and questions 3, 4, 6, and 7 yes/no questions. Educational and Professional Background has sixteen (16) identification questions and one (1) rating question. Lastly, the Career Mobility/Advancement Strategies segment consists of thirty-four (34) strategies which required a yes/no response as well as a choice of five (5) rating levels and one (1) open-ended question.

The Administrator's Barrier-Strategy Inventory was developed by Janet Harris Beason in 1992 for use at Arizona State University during her doctoral studies. The instrument was obtained from the author with permission granted to revise. Because the instrument was designed to identify the barriers to upward mobility in public school settings and ways to over-come these barriers, a few items were reworded to more accurately reflect an extension to other workforce environments (questions 9 and 16). The questionnaire identifies factors and conditions in the workplace presented in the literature that prohibit upward mobility for women and attitude/perception questions that frame how much of an obstacle these barriers and constraints pose for women that enter these fields. This instrument was submitted to the female participants only within the various organizations.

The questions are divided in the research of Beason (1992), into the following segments: *Individual Barriers* sub-scale personal barriers Q#25,26,27,28,39,40,41,44,49, and sub-scale home and family barriers Q#35,36,47, 48,51,52; *Group Barriers* sub-scale support barriers Q#39 and 42; *Organizational Barriers* sub-scale professional barriers Q#29,30,31,32,33,34,37,38,43,45,46,57,58 and sub-scale discrimination barriers Q#50,53,54,55,56.

Problem/Research Question(s)

This study explored women's perceptions of the effects that race/gender discrimination and gender underrepresentation have in administrative positions. The study is based on three main bodies of knowledge: (1) career patterns/training and education, (2) racial/gender equity discrimination, and (3) socialization of women in education and business/industry/government.

The specific research questions are: 1) What barriers (e.g., *Individual, Group, Organizational*) as identified in the literature are perceived as affecting the career mobility of African-American and Caucasian females surveyed? 2) Are there differences in the perceived barriers identified as affecting career mobility among African-American and Caucasian females? 3) Are there interactions of the variables among perceived Organizational, Group and Individual barriers affecting African-American and Caucasian female practicing administrators?

According to Prather (1971), a frequent argument given by administrators for not hiring women for responsible and powerful positions was that women were inherently incapable of managing such positions and, hence, these positions should be reserved for men. However, historical statistics show a sharp increase in data which dispell the belief that women are incapable of effective performance (Frasher & Frasher, 1979).

The core group of barriers as identified by Bell and Nkomo (1994) are *Individual, Group,* and *Organizational.* **Individual Barriers** concentrate on issues and dimensions affecting an administrator's psychological and social well-being; **Group Barriers** are a collection of interdependent relations with recognized identities, differentiated roles, functions, and expectations; and **Organizational Barriers** are identified when attention is given to structures,

policies, and systems (formal and informal) within the organization. Each barrier category is inclusive of very apparent behaviors; *Individual Barriers include* tokenism, self-limiting behavior, lack of motivation, isolation, over-compensation, and high stress; *Group Barriers include* intergroup conflict, exclusion from informal and formal networks, stereotyping, lack of social support, and a constellation of low group status, prestige, and power; *Organizational Barriers include* access to mentoring, functional segregation, low career plateauing, inadequate career grooming, " pigeon holing", racialized jobs, and limited opportunities for advancement.

Statistics on Women and People of Color

In a 1991 report, the U. S. Department of Labor revealed that the number of women and people of color in the labor market progressively diminished as the jobs become higher in position and/or classification. Of those who were assistant vice-president or above, only 6.6 percent were women, and 2.6 percent were people of color. People of color account for 22.3 percent of all jobs at large companies, yet they make up only 9.9 percent of officials and managers (The Glass Ceiling: Are Women and Minorities Blocked from the Executive Suite? October 29, 1993). A recent study done by the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (1993) revealed that women comprise 45.7 percent of the employees in large companies (100 or more employees), yet only 27.4 percent of managerial positions are held by women.

Nationally, women comprise about 45 percent of the work force, according to the Bureau of Labor Statistics, but hold less than 5 percent of the top jobs in the nation's 1,000 largest companies. According to a 1993 study by the National Association of Female Executives, women hold about 40 percent of all executive management and administrative

positions in the United States. These positions, however, are mostly confined to the lower and middle ranks. The results of the *Minnesota Survey on the Glass Ceiling* clearly demonstrate that regardless of employment sector, women and people of color are not proportionally represented in leadership positions. White males dominate leadership positions in all sectors. The nonprofit sector has a better representation of women in leadership positions, but all sectors cluster women at middle management or supervisor positions or lower in the organization (*Minnesota Glass Ceiling Task Force Report,* 1995).

Barriers

Female school administrators struggle with internal conflict to fight the perceived "woman's role." This conflict often is brought to the workplace and in many instances creates a barrier that is very hard for the woman administrator to overcome (Woo, 1985). According to findings by Jones and Montenegro (1983), internal barriers did not significantly affect upward mobility, although the "confusion over life's goals" (p. 35) was not overcome by the women in their study. Other writers (Edson, 1981; Moore, 1984; Van Meir, 1975) recognized that external barriers are more influential than internal barriers.

Discrimination may be less visible in today's workplace, but subtle forms of discrimination occur at every level. When they occur consistently, they create patterns of exclusion. These subtle behaviors reduce self-esteem and prevent women and people of color from fully participating in their organizations. They affect the way people advance or hope for advancement. Biased behaviors stem from the stereotypes we learn during childhood. Our attitudes toward people different from ourselves are shaped by these stereotypes. We then create myths that disguise the true issues of equality and opportunity. The "glass ceiling" concept is a direct result of these common myths. The rigidity of our culture builds an organizational resistance against

the values that women and people of color bring to the workplace. Such rigidity prevents many individuals from relating to values or styles that may differ from their own (Minnesota Glass Ceiling Task Force Report, 1995).

Perceived Barriers to the Advancement of Females in Administrative Roles

Barriers which prevent females from reaching top positions, whether in business, government or education, may be described as being subtle or invisible. *The Wall Street Journal* termed these barriers, the "glass ceiling" (Faber, 1991). Barriers may be examined from an internal or external perspective. Internal barriers are those that can be overcome by individual change. External barriers require social and institutional change (Shakeshaft, 1987). When closely examined internal barriers may actually be external barriers. For example, Schmuck (1976) and Jones and Montenegro (1982) list lack of self-confidence as an internal barrier. Shakeshaft (1987), however, pointed out that the lack of self-confidence might be more accurately seen as a consequence of a sex-structured society that generates a belief in females that they lack ability. This belief is reinforced by an organizational system that prevents females from developing confidence in public activities through both the lack of opportunity and lack of positive feedback (Shakeshaft, 1987).

A study conducted by B. E. Williams (1981) examined the perceptions of practicing African-American school administrators in eight midwestern states to determine the influence that factors such as race and years of experience had on their ability to attain their positions. Another intent was to discover if African-American and Caucasian school administrators perceived a difference between factors as possible influences on the attainment of administrative positions. The sample consisted of 104 African-American and 122 Caucasian central office and building level public school administrators, including superintendents, assistant superintendents, directors, supervisors,

consultants, principals, assistant principals, deans, advisors, and coordinators. Williams found no differences in African-American and Caucasian administrators' perceptions about the effects of gender or district size, but their perceptions of the importance of years of experience and race were significantly different. Williams concluded that African-Americans perceived that race was a factor that had prevented them from gaining the experience they needed to be able to achieve administrative positions. According to Williams, African-Americans could not enter the field because they lacked work experience, and because they lacked work experience, they were barred from promotion.. Inequality has been found to be a product of historical and societal patterns in the labor force, and has determined the constraints women have faced and continue to face when entering administrative positions (Ginn, 1989). Some of the most predominant barriers that were found to limit access of females to administrative positions are: *gender/ sexism (negative perceptions), racism, stereotypical myths, socialization,* and a lack of *role models, networks,* and *mentors.*

Racism and Gender Sexism

Career development and choices are affected by gender. Women must decide if they will juggle the roles of career/spouse/parent, and if so, they must give some thought to how that combination could possibly be structured (Northcutt, 1991). Among women administrators who somehow manage to balance the responsibilities of home and careers, the small percentage of women who find their way into the male-dominated professions experience obstacles to full membership and to the accomplishment of their tasks (Epstein, 1970).

When the labor market is examined to determine which workers experience the most severe burden in terms of employment discrimination,

African-American women workers are perceived as carrying a dual burden of race and sex discrimination. Employment discrimination against African-American women is composed of generous doses of sex discrimination (experienced by all women) and lingering amounts of racial discrimination (Wallace, 1980). Complex issues of race, and gender, shape in large part the administrative aspirations and careers of African-American women. Similarly, African-Americans encountered problems different from those encountered by Caucasians (Valverde, 1988). The search by African-Americans for administrative positions raised issues about socialization and role conflict, sponsorship and upward mobility, the content and availability of preparation programs, and policies and philosophies that affect their career aspirations (Valverde & Brown, 1988).

Socialization

Socialization research has been most notable in the realm of adolescent and adult socialization. In this area, Ortiz, (1982) described socialization as a matter of role learning. The typical female administrator faces problems such as difficulty in gaining male respect and acceptance, lack of access to the male network, lack of "authority" and trust (from female employees), and employment status (Lovelady-Dawson, 1980). As yet, the "old girls" network is too sparse and thin to assist many women to top positions in administration.

According to Deux (1976), the socialization process begins with the family and continues with the educational system, the media, the church, and the person's peer groups. The history of sex-role socialization for women can be characterized as reflecting extreme discrimination and limited opportunity particularly with reference to certain kinds of employment (Scimecca, 1986). Baumrind (1980) defined socialization as, "a process by which developing children, through insight, training, and limitation, acquire the habits and

values congruent with adaptation to their culture" (p. 632). Another researcher noted that women were not socialized to have career expectations at all (Clement, 1980).

In 1991, Ellen Van Velsor and Randall P. White of the Center for Creative Leadership published a paper titled "Federal 'Glass Ceiling' Initiative Is Justified". One of the points discussed was the fact that men were more likely to report assignments and women were more likely to report relationships with other people as key to their development in leadership roles. "And while only a small percentage of male managers cited a relationship with a boss or role model as 'key' to their growth, more than half of the women interviewed cited this type of relationship as important to them" (p. 15).

Myths

A long list of reasons have been proposed to explain why women have been excluded from educational administration. Mertz, Grossnickle and Tutcher (1980) responded to some of the myths which become barriers to women entering administrative roles.

Myth #1: There is a lack of qualified women applicants. They do not apply.

Response: Research shows that the number of certified women administrators (credentialed in the areas of administration sought after) is increasing and more are seeking those advanced positions (Shakeshaft, 1989).

Myth #2: Women are too emotional!

Response: As women have been given increased responsibility, they have demonstrated the ability to deal rationally and objectively with problem situations (Morrison, White, & VanVelsor, 1987).

Myth #3: Women are not effective as administrators.

Response: Researchers rank women significantly ahead of men as "democratic leaders" (Moss, Schwartz, & Jensrud, 1993).

Organizational Structures

Social norms, cultural stereotypes, and power and privilege in organizations provide the "invisible foundation" for organizational decisions about which jobs and how much opportunity are suitable for certain types of workers (Tomaskovik-Devey 1993; Acker 1990; Roos & Reskin 1984). These decisions determine the ways that complex organizations structure work, creating barriers for women. Kanter showed how the organizational structure (group dynamics, job designs, leadership, power, and cross-cultural theory) contributed to barriers for women in administration. The organizational structure often dictates the behavior of persons in the organization (Kanter, 1977). Women are discouraged from moving up in the hierarchy as the structure of the organization perpetuates attitudes based on status-quo (Shakeshaft, 1989). Organizational barriers act as barriers to women who are encouraged to accept subservient roles, thus leading to a profession of males with a monopoly over decision-making.

Role Models/Mentors

A lack of role models remains a significant barrier to women interested in pursuing an administrative position. The lack of opportunity to see other women in a variety of administrative positions, to hear how these women describe their lives, and to compare themselves with women just one step farther up the career ladder have been cited as reasons women have not moved into administrative positions in larger numbers (Davis, 1978, Gasser, 1975, Schmuck, 1976). The low percentage of females in administrative positions makes it difficult to find visible role models at all levels of administration in large numbers or in all geographic areas.

Research (Edson, 1988) shows same-sex role models to be crucial for women. Women find it difficult to pattern themselves after men. Several

studies emphasize the benefits of mentoring relationships but suggested that such relationships were not readily available to women (Haring-Hidore, 1987; Swoboda & Miller, 1986; Marshall, 1984). If role models are representative of others of the same kind, then female administrative aspirants obviously lack adequate role models (Edson, 1988).

Unlike role models, which are most effective when they are the same sex and race in order for women to identify with the model, sponsors or mentors may be either male or female. A sponsor or mentor is much more important to female administrative aspirants than is a role model (Shakeshaft, 1989).

The researchers concluded that "women may be more likely to see relationships as developmental opportunities regardless of the range of their other experiences. Women may simply be more oriented towards learning from people and more comfortable with the support and encouragement mentoring relationships can provide" (Minnesota Planning, 1995, p. 15).

In addition to gender/sexism, racism, myths, socialization, role models, and mentors, there are other key factors identified as influential for the entry of African-American and Caucasian females in administrative roles. Contributing factors leading to lack of desire to continue in the administrative career tract include dissatisfaction with institutional decision, decision-making processes, and current leadership; limited upward mobility; lack of organizational support for professional growth; concern that a superior is no longer supportive or dissatisfied with performance; and feelings of isolation (Reisser, Zurfluk, 1987).

Women Administrators in Public School Education

In school administration, men are likely to be found in positions with the greatest power, pay, and prestige, and in those jobs requiring the supervision of other males. This pattern in education has followed that of many other organizations. Horizontal and vertical segregation of male and female jobs

systematically limited opportunities for women, with the result that women formed the bulk of the work force and men served as bosses (Amodeo & Emslie, 1985).

Edson (1981) questioned this sexual stereotype in her research about women and administration. She continued to meet numbers of women at state and national conferences who wanted to know how to get ahead in the field of administration. Jacoben and Conway (1990) contend:"the desire for upward mobility is simply the first step necessary for entry into educational administration" (p. 169). Although the number of women enrolled in graduate programs in educational administration has steadily increased (Coursen et al., 1989), they are still underrepresented in administrative positions in the field of education (Heller, Woodworth, Jacobson, & Conway, 1991). For example, *The Executive Educator National Survey* showed that only 18.3% of the administrators surveyed were women, accounting for 3% of the responding superintendents, 10% of high school principals, 19% of middle and junior high school principals and 41% of elementary principals (Heller, 1991). Heller et al., (1991) stated that the percentage of women had increased since their 1989 survey (from 17% to 18.3%), but this number did not approximate, by far, the proportion of women who are enrolled in administrator preparation programs. They also explained that data from three years indicated that while the percentage of female administrators had increased, the percentage of African-American administrators (relative to the total number of school administrators) had remained consistently low at 6%, 4%, and 6% for the years of 1988, 1989, and 1990, respectively. Since African-American females represent a subset of this

group of administrators, we know that their figures are even lower (Heller et al., 1989; Heller et al., 1991).

Theoretical Framework

The "glass ceiling" concept continues to be an important topic in both the global business world and in research on women in administrative roles. It describes the invisible barrier women administrators hit when attempting to progress up through corporate ranks. Prejudice toward women, exclusion from important professional networks, lack of sponsorship and inability of women to be placed in positions that have a direct impact on an organization's mission all contribute to the glass ceiling.

Some experts in the area of workforce diversity believe that corporations (business and industry) set the "tone" that other organizations will follow to move beyond paying attention to race and gender (Denton, 1990, Alexander, 1990; Hughes, 1988). There is a need for studies to document significant race, gender effects in job involvement, job satisfaction, mentor assistance, and employment advancement. Missing in the existing studies is a clear understanding of how race and gender interact, where much could be learned about the dynamics operating between these elements, especially within a given gender group. Rarely are study participants asked directly about the influence of race and gender on their career perceptions. Nor have attempts been made to understand the influence of race on the glass ceiling phenomenon experienced by women administrators.

Studies conducted by Coursen, Mazzarella, Jefferess, and Hadderman (1989) revealed that people falsely assume women (African-American and Caucasian) are represented in positions of leadership in roughly the same numbers as the percentages of women in the general population. The research that has been reported regarding female administrators highlighted the underrepresentation of African-American women in the field of educational administration (Shakeshaft, 1991). As Richards (1988) stated, "Nowhere is the disparity between ideal and practice more damaging to the meritocratic charter of educational institutions than in the underrepresentation of women and minorities in administrative positions" (p. 160).

Caucasian women may hit a glass ceiling in their careers, but African-American women experience a somewhat different scenario. They confront a concrete wall where the normal barriers of sexism encountered by Caucasian women are encrusted by racism. From the early years of schooling through graduate training, women and minorities face institutional, social, and psychological factors that impede access and advancement.

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been made to understand the influence of race on the glass ceiling phenomenon experienced by women administrators.

Methods

Approximately 4,090 practicing female administrators were identified by ninety-three (93) organizations in two (2) racial categories, African-American N=65, Caucasian N=4,010, and job categories of Board of Directors, Executive, Upper Management, Middle Management and Supervisor. Although organizations reported other identified groups, this study was interested in African-American and Caucasian females. Omitted from the sample were other ethnic groups of female administrators. A sample size of ninety-three (93) organizations resulted, of which twenty-four (24) organizations had female administrators in both categories of interest. These twenty four (24) organizations became the final sample where respondents were from education, manufacturing, service, health, banking/financial, government and other (any other category not listed) with identifiable markers of non-profit, public or for profit status. A selected sample of forty-nine (49) female administrators participated in the study. Thirty-nine (39) Caucasian and ten (10) African American female administrators. In gathering data, the respondents completed two instruments. A Workforce survey used by the governor's taskforce on women employment in the state of Minnesota (1994) and the Administrator's Barrier-Strategy Inventory developed by Janet Beason (1992).

Analysis

The data were sorted first to determine the frequencies of variables on the Workforce survey (organizations which identified females in management positions). This survey was administered to all participating organizations and responses were made to the survey by Human Resources/Personnel Directors and the female administrator participants for comparative purposes. T-tests were conducted for each barrier scale for comparisons of differences between female groups. An analysis of variance was used to determine whether there were interactions of variables among barrier sub-scales (Organizational, Group and Individual) affecting practicing African-American and Caucasian female administrators. Finally correlations between specific variables from the Barrier survey and the barrier scales were conducted to determine their levels of significance.

Table 1

Percentage of Female Employees in Management Categories as Reported by Human Resources/Personnel Director Respondents Based on Average Number of Employees at Local Branch/Site (N=790)

Variable	N	Percentage
Caucasian Female Administrators	**4,010**	
Board of Directors	224	3.20%
Executive	98	.92%
Upper Management	332	3.37%

	(table continues)	
Middle Management	1,034	4.31%
Supervisor	2,322	5.58%
African-Am. Female Administrators	**65**	
Board of Directors	11	.12%
Executive	0	.00%
Upper Management	9	.17%
Middle Management	14	.04%
Supervisor	31	.22%
Total	**4,075**	

Percentages are calculated based on the formula divisor of the size of the local/site branch within a given organization (N=790)

Table 1 displays the percentage of female administrators by female groups as reported by Human Resources/Personnel Directors. It should be noted that the formula divisor is the average number of employees for a site/branch in a given organization. The highest percentage for Caucasian female administrators is 5.5% and .22% for African-American females at the supervisor level. There were no African-American female administrators at the executive level, however the lowest registered percentage is .04% at the middle management level. The lowest percentage for Caucasian female administrators was at the executive level with a rating of .92%.

Table 2 identifies the percentage of female administrators by categories as reported by female administrator respondents. The data more specifically demonstrates that the average numbers of employees found in organizations in

Minnesota and the average numbers of employees employed at a specific site/branch in a given organization had some correlation to the numbers of female administrators across the African-American and Caucasian female administrator participants. The highest percentage for Caucasian and African-American females in middle management was 7% and 3% respectively.

Table 2

Percentage of Female Administrators as Reported by Female Administrator Respondents

Caucasian Female Administrators		**Percentage**
Board of Directors	45	2.41%
Executive	46	2.17%
Upper Management	46	3.52%
Middle Management	46	7.52%
Supervisor	46	6.81%
African-American Female Administrators		
Board of Directors	46	5.25%
Executive	46	.00%
Upper Management	46	.14%
Middle Management	46	3.31%
Supervisor	46	.39%

The lowest percentage for Caucasian females (2%) was at the executive level of management, whereas the lowest percentage for African-Americans females (.00%) was found in the upper management level. These statistics also showed

that African-American females included a higher percentage at the board of directors level (5%) in comparison to Caucasian females with a 2% ratio.

In Table 3, a percentage of agreement was calculated using the number of female administrator respondents that agreed with the Human Resources/Personnel Directors on a given item divided by the total number of responses to that item. This calculation determined the percentage of agreement in the item responses to the Workforce survey by Human Resources/Personnel Directors and female administrator participants. These figures represents what percentage of the Human Resources/Personnel Directors and the female administrator respondents gave the same response to the following items "no formal discussions on the 'glass ceiling'" at 83%, "no guidelines for promotion" at 80.5% and "the organization does conduct exit interviews" at 80%. The lowest percentage of agreement was with the item " seldom or occasionally train non-management" at 38%.

Table 3

Percentage of Agreement in the Item Responses to the Workforce Survey by Human Resources/Personnel Directors and Female Administrator Respondents

Item(s)	% of Agreement
search outside organization	57%
search inside organization	43%
promote from lower levels	55%
train non-management	38%
career planning sessions	71%
company/organization paid education	59%

formal mentoring	79.5%
targeted recruiting of minorities	65%
targeted recuriting of women	75.5%
targeted recruiting of disabled indiv.	79%
staff development programs	69%
formal discussions on 'glass ceiling'	83%
guidelines for promotion	80.5%
accomplishments and contributions recorded	47%
promotion denials & salary decisions in writing	54.5%
organization conduct exit interviews	80%
options offered to employees	48.5%

The first research question under investigation was to identify perceived barriers (e.g., Individual, Group and Organizational) which affect the career mobility of African-American and caucasian females surveyed. Table 4 which shows that approximately one-third (1/3) of the 34 items are affecting career mobility/advancement of these female administrators. For the yes/no responses, Organizational Barriers (discrimination barrier sub-scale) had the highest proportion at .5080 (51%) and Individual Barriers (home/family barrier sub-scale) had the lowest proportion at .2166 (22%).

Also involved in the analysis of the career mobility/advancement section was a five-part Likert-type scale ranging from "strongly agree" to "strongly disagree," which was used to qualify each administrator's opinions of thirty-

four (34) items in this section. Numerical weights were assigned to each response, with the highest weight of five (1) given to the most positive response of "strongly agree." A weight of three (3) was given to an "neutral" response and (5) was assigned to strongly disagree. Individual Barriers (personal barrier sub-scale) resulted in the highest mean Likert value of 2.653 and Organizational Barriers (discrimination sub-scale) had the lowest Likert value overall at 2.226.

Dividing the mean number of items endorsed for each scale by the number of items included in that scale, gave the proportion of items endorsed. Comparisons are drawn between the scales on the proportions of items endorsed. The discrimination factor according to the endoresed responses, affects career mobility of these female administrators more than the other barriers.

The second research question under investigation looks at the differences in the barriers perceived as affecting career mobility among African-Americans and Caucasians. Tables 5 and 6 identify the frequency of responses and comparisons of means among African-American and Caucasian female administrators' perceptions of barriers they encountered in their pursuit of advancement.

Table 4 summarizes the five perceived barriers the were "most frequently" identified by the respondents. Frequencies were performed to determine which the items from the survey of barriers were perceived as impacting career mobility/advancement were endorsed "most frequently" by the total sample and by each female administrator group separately. The five (5) most frequent items identified by the sum total of female administrator participants were: exclusion from the old boys network 76%, negative attitude

toward women (employers) 58%, lack of professional networking 52%, negative attitude toward women in administration 51%, and racial discrimination 51%.

Table 4

Barrier Categories and Barrier Sub-Scales Responses that Affect Career Mobility Advancement as Identified by Female Administrators

Barrier Scale (Yes/No Responses)

Barrier Categories	Barrier Sub-scales	N	# items	Propor.	SD
Individual Barriers	Personal	43	8	.34	1.91
	Home/Family	43	6	.22	1.52
Organizational Barriers	Professional	43	13	.34	2.47
	Discrimination	39	5	.51	1.60
Group Barriers	Support	40	2	.37	.84
TOTAL SCALE	---------	43	34	1.47	21.00

(table continues)

Barrier Scales **(Likert scale responses):**

Barrier Categories	Barrier Sub-scales	N	# items	Mean Likert Value	SD
Individual Barriers	Personal	44	8	2.65	8.26
	Home/Family	43	6	2.61	6.33
Organizational Barriers	Professional	44	13	2.60	10.92
	Discrimination	38	5	2.22	4.87
Group Barriers	Support	39	2	2.73	2.17
TOTAL SCALE	---------	44	34	2.50	2.51

The most frequently identified barriers to career mobility/advancement by African-American female administrators were: racial discrimination 88%, no opportunity for upward mobility 75%, exclusion from old boys network 71%, and negative attitude toward women in administration 71%. The following items were identified by 63% of the African-American female respondents; lack of female role models, lack of geographic mobility, no support of women, sex discrimination in hiring and negative attitude toward women by employers. It should be noted that due to the small number of African-American respondents a tie occurred in the number of responses several times. Caucasian female administrators identified barriers to career mobility/advancement as: exclusion from the old boys network 79%, negative attitude toward women by employers 55%, lack ofprofessional networking 52%, negative attitude toward women in administration 48%, lack of assertiveness 47% and job requirements that eliminate eligibility 46%.

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Table 6 displays mean comparisons of the barrier perceptions for two female administrator group. Comparisons of means between African-American and Caucasian female administrators for each sub-scale on the barrier to career mobility/advancement, in the Likert ratings, revealed no significant difference ($p < .05$). Using the yes/no items to generate sub-scale scores, a significant difference ($p = .05$) was identified between African-American and Caucasian female administrators in the mean score on the discrimination barrier subscale. In addition, the mean difference on the support barrier subscale approached significance ($p = .07$).

Table 5

Perceived Barriers that Affect Career Mobility/Advancement of African-American and Caucasian Female Administrators "Most" Frequently

Barrier Item(s)	N	Endorsed
African-Americans		
Racial discrimination	8	88%
In positions no opp. for upward mobility	8	75%
Exclusion old boys network	7	71%
Neg. attitude toward women (admin.)	7	71%
Lack of female role models	8	63%
Lack of geographic mobility	8	63%
lack of Support of women	8	63%
Sex discrimination	8	63%
Neg. attitude toward women (employees)	8	63%
Caucasians		
Exclusion old boys network	29	79%
Neg. attitude toward women (employees)	29	55%
Lack ofprofessional networking	31	52%
Negative attitude toward women (admin.)	27	48%
Lack of assertiveness	32	47%
Job requirements that eliminate eligibility	28	46%
Complete Sample Response		
Exclusion old boy network	37	76%
Negative attitude toward women (employees)	38	58%
Lack of professional networking	42	52%
Negative attitude toward women (admin.)	35	51%
Racial discrimination	37	51%

Table 6

T-tests Comparisons of Means Between African-American and Caucasian Female Administrators for Each Barrier Sub-Scale

	Comparison of Means				
	Mean	SD	N	t	p
Likert Scale					
Personal Barriers					
African-American	23.3	7.38	10	.85	.40
Caucasian	20.7	8.62	33		
Professional Barriers					
African-American	36.5	8.61	10	.81	.42
Caucasian	33.3	11.65	33		
Home /Family Barriers					
African-American	16.3	6.665	10	.24	.81
Caucasian	15.7	6.27	32		
Discrimination Barriers					
African-American	6.8	2.44	8	-85	.40
Caucasian	7.7	2.73	29		
Support Barriers					
African-American	6.4	2.50	8	1.36	.18
Caucasian	5.2	2.09	30		
Total Barriers					
African-American	89.0	22.83	10	.43	.67

Caucasian	84.6	29.45	30

Comparison of Means

Yes/No Responses	Mean	SD	N	t	p
Personal Barriers					
African American	3.0	2.71	10	.62	.54
Caucasian	2.6	1.65	32		
Professional Barriers					
African American	4.9	3.63	10	.72	.47
Caucasian	4.2	2.03	32		
Home /Family Barriers					
African American	1.5	1.96	10	.50	.62
Caucasian	1.2	1.41	32		
Discrimination Barriers					
African-American	1.9	.83	8	1.62	.11
Caucasian	1.2	1.1	30		
Support Barriers					
African-American	1.2	0.89	8	1.87	.07
Caucasian	.65	0.80	31		
Total Barriers					
African-American	12.9	9.09	10	1.16	.26
Caucasian	10.5	4.42	32		

The final research question asks: Are there interactions of variables among Organizational, Group, and Individual Barriers affecting practicing African-American and Caucasian female administrators? Figures 1 and 2 reveals that the differences between groups on each side remains constant for

the sub-scales personal, professional and home/family. However, in Figure 1, the discrimination sub-scale shows a reversal of mean scores for African-American female administrators. This reversal caused a connection between African-American and Caucasian female administrators in their identification of discrimination as a barrier to career mobility/advancement. While there is an interaction (lines intersecting at a given point) between the two groups across the discrimination sub-scale, it should be noted that the difference is not significant.

Similarly, the yes/no response scale in Figure 2 , showed each scale had a mean difference between African-American and Caucasian female administrators and that this difference remains constant across barrier sub-scales. Therefore, there is no interaction between African-American and Caucasian female administrators on the barriers sub-scales for yes/no responses.

Table 7 also investigates the final question by analyzing barrier sub-scales for interaction of African-American and Caucasian female administrators self-report on discrimination. There is no significant interaction between ethnicity and self report of discrimination for the scores on the barrier sub-scales ($p = .05$). The lack of interactions indicates that for both African-Americans and Caucasian female administrators, the amount of perceived discrimination experienced had relatively the same impact on career mobility barrier sub-scale.

Figure 1

Interactions Among Perceived Organizational (*professional, discrimination sub-scales*), Group (*support sub-scale)* Individual (*personal, home sub-scales*) Barriers (Likert Scale)

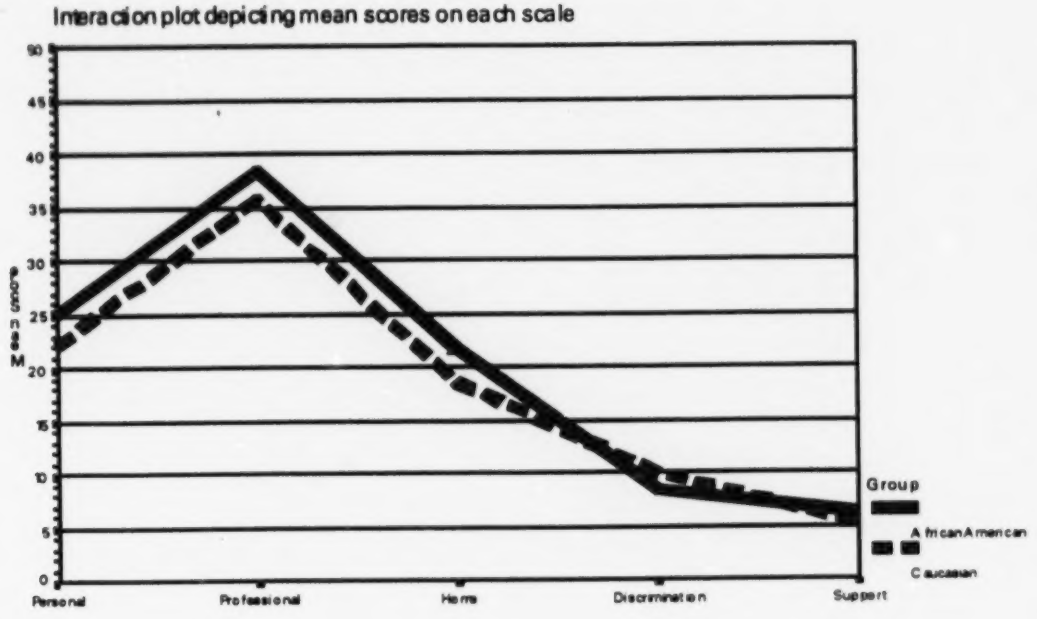

Figure 2

Interactions Among Organizational (*professional, discrimination sub-scale*), Group (*support sub-scale*) Individual (*personal, home sub-scales*) Barriers "Yes/No" Scale

Yes/No Response Items

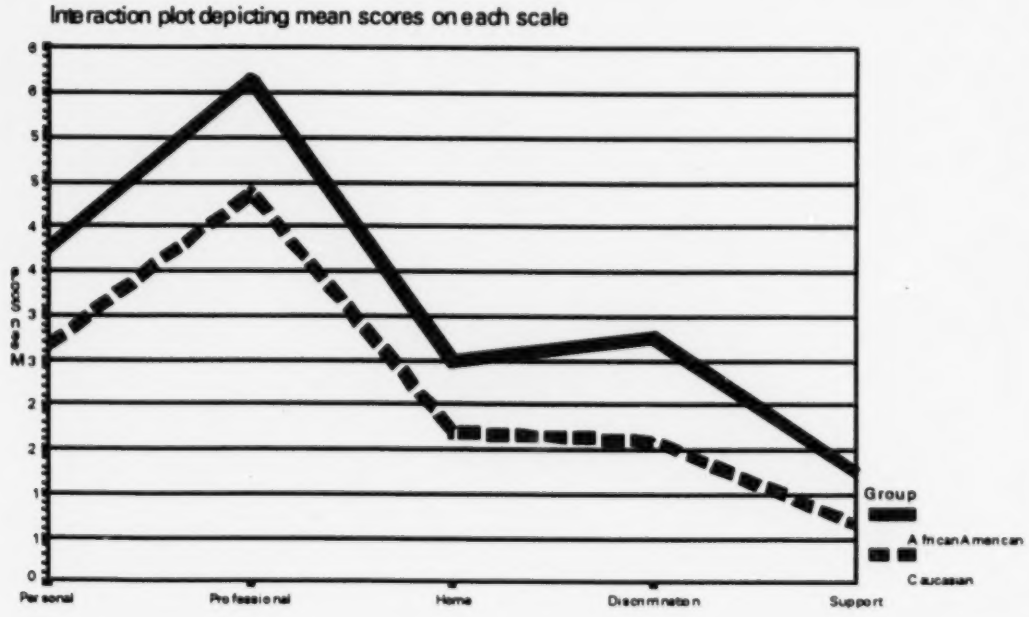

Table 7

Analysis of Variance of Barrier Sub-scales for Interactions of African-American and Caucasian Female Administrations Self-report on Discrimination

Dependent Variable	df	Mean Square	F	Probability
Individual Barriers				
Personal				
Between	3	10.29	.14	.93
Within	24	72.60		
Home/Family				
Between	3	43.01	.83	.49
Within	24	51.76		
Group Barriers				
Support				
Between	3	2.09	.39	.76
Within	23	5.39		
Organizational Barriers				
Professional				
Between	3	252.18	2.17	.2
Within	24	131.5		

Results/Conclusions

The study compared the perceived barriers identified by forty-nine (49) female administrators for significant differences. The conclusion drawn were: 1) female administrators agreed in all barrier sub-scales with the exception of discrimination and support barriers under the barrier categories of Organizational and Group barriers and 2) female administrators in this study differed in the identification of the primary barrier to career mobility/advancement. African-American identified 'racial discrimination' (88%) as the primary perceived barrier, and Caucasians identified 'exclusion from the old boys network' (79%) as primary. Although both groups identified discrimination as a barrier, the difference occurred in the type of discrimination encountered. The perceived barriers with the highest ranking (from both groups of female respondents) were the organizational barriers of: 'Exclusion from the old boys network' (76%) . Negative attitude toward women employees' (58%) and 'lack of professional networking' (52%).

Summary

The glass ceiling is one manifestation of cultural and institutional barriers that restrict opportunities for women and minorities in the labor market. Class inequalities and organizational hierarchies that overlap and perpetuate sex and race discrimination also disadvantage women and minorities on the sticky floor

of the economy. These barriers are deeply ingrained in the overall structure and the daily practices of work organizations that we take for granted.

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